

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9012
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL KARACHI
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 8841

EO 11652: XGDS 1
TAGS: PEPR IR AF CH PK
SUBJ: MFA IMPRESSIONS OF RECENT VISITS BY GOP OFFICIALS TO IRAN,
AFGHANISTAN, AND CHINA

REF: A) ISLAMABAD 08754, B) TEHRAN 8711, C) KABUL 7312,
D) ISLAMABAD 8738 (NOTAL), E) KABUL 7305

1. SUMMARY: DISCUSSIONS WITH SENIOR GOP OFFICIALS HAVE REVEALED
LITTLE OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WHICH CHIEF
MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR (CMLA) GEN. ZIA UL-HAQ HAD WITH THE
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SHAH DURING HIS WEEKEND VISIT TO IRAN. MFA OFFICIALS ARE EQUALLY
MUM ABOUT FOREIGN ADVISOR AGHA SHAHI'S VISIT LAST WEEK TO PEKING.
THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED CMLA TO KABUL AND TEHRAN, HOWEVER, HAVE
EXPRESSED SHOCK ABOUT THE DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN IRAN
AND LIMITED OPTIMISM ABOUT THE CMLA'S BRIEF CONVERSATIONS WITH
AFGHAN PRESIDENT TARAKI ON THE 9TH. END SUMMARY.

2. CHARGE'S CALL ON FONSEC SHAHNAWAZ ON 12 SEPTEMBER PRODUCED FLOOD OF IMPRESSIONS BY FONSEC ON SITUATION IN IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN -- BASED ON HIS WEEKEND VISIT WITH CMLA'S PARTY TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

3. AFGHAN STOPOVER: FONSEC INDICATED THAT VISIT TO AFGHANISTAN WAS AIMED AT PERMITTING SENIOR GOP OFFICIALS TO "SIZE UP" OPPOSITE NUMBERS IN NEW AFGHAN GOVERNMENT (REF C). CONVERSATIONS WERE "GENERAL," I.E. UNSUBSTANTIVE; HE CONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS ON VISIT AND NOTED THAT DISCUSSION WAS MAINLY AN EXCHANGE OF GENERAL SENTIMENTS ON AFGHAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS (REF A). CMLA TOLD TARAKI PAKISTAN HAS NO DIFFERENCES WITH AFGHANISTAN BUT THAT IF AFGHANISTAN HAS DIFFERENCES WITH PAKISTAN, PAKS ARE PREPARED TO TALK AND TO BE HELPFUL. TARAKI RESPONSE WAS ON SAME GENERAL LEVEL, THE AFGHAN EXPRESSING VIEW THAT ANY DIFFERENCES AFGHANISTAN HAS WITH PAKISTAN BE SETTLED AMICABLY AND PEACEFULLY.

4. CONVERSATIONS LASTED NEARLY THREE HOURS WITH SOME OF THAT TIME SPENT IN TRANSLATION FROM PUSHTU, USED EXCLUSIVELY BY AFGHAN SIDE, AND ENGLISH, USED BY PAKS, ACCORDING TO LOWER-RANKING MFA OFFICER. PAKS FOUND TARAKI TO BE LOQUACIOUS; FONMIN AMIN, ON OTHER HAND, SAID "NOT A WORD." IN HIS REMARKS, WHICH FONSEC CHARACTERIZED AS "FINELY BALANCED," TARAKI CREDITED AMIN WITH TRIGGERING THE APRIL COUP ON THE BASIS OF PRE-ARRANGED PLANS IN THE EVENT OF THE ARREST OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP; HE DEPRECATED PARCHAM, SAYING THAT "PARCHAM WAS NEVER A PARTY, WAS ONLY A SECRET

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MAGAZINE, AND DOES NOT NOW EXIST." THE KHALQ PARTY, TARAKI CONTINUED, IS ALL THAT MATTERS; QADER WENT AGAINST THE PARTY AND HE HAD TO BE ARRESTED, TARAKI SAID. WITH BOTH TARAKI AND AMIN OCCASIONALLY LOOKING "WITH A GIMLET EYE" AT FONSEC SHAHNAWAZ -- WHO IS HIMSELF A MOHAMMADZAI -- TARAKI SPOKE WITH FEELING ABOUT HIS PLANS TO UNDO CENTURIES OF MOHAMMADZAI EXPLOITATION AND REPRESSION; HE INDICATED THAT LAND REDISTRIBUTION "IS BEING DONE."

5. FONSEC WAS IMPRESSED WITH CONFIDENCE EXUDED BY O RAKI; THERE WAS NOH IGN OF DESPAIR OVER CONTINUING PROBLEMS AFGHANS HAVE IN STABILIZING THE REGIME. TARAKI SAID FLATLY THAT 98 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE ARE "WITH US;" IF THERE IS ANOTHER PARTY, HE ADDED, IT CAN REPRESENT ONLY THE OTHER TWO PERCENT. FONSEC SAYS AFGHAN JARGON WAS TOTALLY COMMUNIST. THE VISIT CONFIRMED (IN HIS JUDGMENT) PAKISTANI ASSUMPTIONS THAT THE KABUL REGIME HAS A BIG PROBLEM CONSOLIDATING AND THAT IT INTENDS NO CRISIS WITH PAKISTAN WHILE THAT REMAINS UNDONE; ONCE CONSOLIDATED, HE OPINED, THE TARAKI REGIME WILL TAKE UP THE PUSHTUNISTAN QUESTION "WITH GUSTO, NO DOUBT", AND WITH SOVIET SUPPORT. IN ANY EVENT, CONTINUING INSTABILITY IN AFGHANISTAN WILL FORCE GREATER AFGHAN DEPENDENCE ON THE USSR, AND PAKISTAN CAN TAKE NO PLEASURE FROM

THAT. FONSEC FOUND DEPUTY FONMIN DOST TO BE "A PROFESSIONAL."

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6. FONSEC WAS RETICENT ON SUBJECT OF RETURN VISIT BY TARAKI TO PAKISTAN; IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, MFA IRAN-AFGHAN TURKEY DIRECTOR AMIR USMAN, A NATIVE PUSHTU SPEAKER WHO WAS NOTETAKER, TOLD POLCOUNS THAT TARAKI HAD ACCEPTED CMLA'S INVITATION TO VISIT, POSSIBLY THIS FALL.

7. FONSEC SAID HE DOES NOT KNOW WHERE AFGHAN AMBASSADOR TO ISLAMABAD IS NOW; HE NEVER CALLED BACK AT MFA AFTER PRESENTING CREDENTIALS. MFA, HE SAID, HAD HEARD RUMORS HE HAD GONE TO PRAGUE TO SEE HIS BROTHER, BUT MFA HAS ALSO HEARD THAT HIS BROTHER, FORMER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER BABRAK, IS IN MOSCOW. IN ANY EVENT,
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WITH AFGHAN DCM MANSOUR HERE BACK IN KABUL AND POSSIBLY HIMSELF IN DIFFICULTIES, THE AFGHAN EMBASSY IN ISLAMABAD, ACCORDING TO FONSEC, RANEARLY OUT OF BUSINESS (REF D).

8. IRAN VISIT: SHAHNAWAZ CUT OFF QUESTIONS ON SUBSTANCE OF PAK CONVERSATIONS IN TEHRAN BY NOTING THAT CMLA'S SUBSTANTIVE SESSIONS WITH SHAH WERE SOLO; HE VOLUNTEERED NO INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT THE FOUR OTHER MINISTERS IN THE ENTOURAGE DID DURING THE CMLA'S TALKS ON HIGH. ASKED IF IMPROVEMENT IN PAK-IRANIAN RELATIONS IS IN THE CARDS, FONSEC SAID HE THINKS SO; CMLA HAS BEEN TO TEHRAN FOUR TIMES SINCE JULY 1977, AND THAT SHOWS IMPORTANCE PAKISTAN PLACES IN ITS RELATIONS WITH IRAN. HE DESCRIBED CMLA'S VISIT AT THIYNTOE ALSO AS A "GESTURE OF SOLIDARITY," A THEME VOICED BY GEN. ZIA IN PAK PRESS 13 SEPT.

9. FRIDAY, 8 AUGUST, HE SAID, WAS A SAD DAY IN IRAN, WITH EXTENSIVE BLOODSHED. MESHED, WHICH THE PARTY VISITED ENROUTE PAKISTAN, WAS "DESERTED." THE ONLY THINGS ON THE STREETS IN MESHED WERE TANKS, APC'S, AND SOLDIERS WITH GUNS. THE KILLINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY WILL WIDEN THE "GAP" BETWEEN THE REGIME AND THE PEOPLE, AND IT IS HARD TO SEE NOW HOW THE LIBERALIZATION PROCESS CAN CONTINUE. SIMPLE FACT THAT ONE CANNOT SPEAK WITH CERTAINTY ABOUT THE SHAH'S FUTURE IS ITSELF "VERY TROUBLING," FONSEC ADDED, NOTING THAT IT WILL BE THE COMMUNISTS WHO PICK UP THE PIECES IF THE REGIME CRUMBLES UNDER THIS CURRENT "UNPRECEDENTED" WAVE OF UNREST. ASKED ABOUT THE SHAH'S MOOD, FONSEC SAID ONLY THAT MONARCH INTENDS TO CONTINUE; "HE'LL MAKE A GOOD EFFORT," BUT GOVERNMENT RECENTLY APPOINTED BY SHAH HAS DOUBTFUL FUTURE.

10. AGHA SHAHI TO CHINA: ONLY COMMENT FONSEC WOULD MAKE ABOUT FOREIGN ADVISOR'S VISIT TO PEKING -- APART FROM GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION AS "PART OF SERIES OF TALKS GOP HAS HAD WITH SECRET

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OTHERS" IN THE LIGHT OF EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN -- WAS THAT PEKING AGREES "100 PERCENT WITH PAKISTAN." CHINESE, HE SAID, HAVE A GLOBAL OUTLOOK, BUT ARE NONETHELESS PRE-OCCUPIED WITH THE USSR AND CONCERNED THEREFORE ABOUT CLOSE-BY SITUATIONS SUCH AS HAS DEVELOPED IN KABUL SINCE APRIL.

11. COMMENT: ON KABUL STOPOVER, WE AGREE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITH EMBASSY KABUL COMMENT (REF C). ZIA VISIT IS A HOPEFUL OPENING, NOTHING MORE. TO EXTENT IT HAS RECONFIRMED PAKISTANI FEARS, HOWEVER, IT MAY REINFORCE SOMEWHAT THE GOP'S SIEGE MENTALITY VIS-A-VIS AFGHANISTAN. EVENTS IN IRAN, TO WHICH SENIOR PAKS WERE VIRTUALLY FIRST-HAND WITNESSES, WILL BE SEEN BY GOP LEADERS AS

CAUSE FOR FURTHER ANXIETY ABOUT THE ADVANCE OF SOVIET POWER IN
THE IMMEDIATE REGION, FOR EVEN THOUGH FONSEC AND HIS COLLEAGUES
ACKNOWLEDGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ORIGINS OF SITUATIONS IN IRAN AND
AFGHANISTAN, THEY ARE QUICK TO POINT OUT THAT ULLIMATE
BENEFICIARIES OF THEYA EVENTS RESIDE IN MOSCOW, NOT IN WASHINGTON
OR IN ISLAMABAD.
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Message Attributes

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